563 other, and which in the course of centuries in this grouping have crystallized into a strong social and political community.

563 The great mass of the population consists of the agri-
162 culturalists, the Bahutu [Hutu], belonging to the Bantu race,
144 more specifically to the so-called basic Bantu. In Urundi their number is approximately one and a half million. Above them, as the ruling caste, stands the Hamitic pastoral Batussi, who invaded Urundi from the north about 400 years ago and who, both here and in the entire interlacustrine region, subjugated the agricultural Bahutu. They are proud, tall figures, often over two meters in height, with sharp profiles and stately posture, so that at first they even impress the well-traveled European. According to official estimates, they number from 40,000 to 50,000 in the whole of Urundi. Besides these giants, the country also shelters the remnants of an original, short, pygmoid population, the Batwa [Twa], who lived here in the forests even before the Bantu and who, together with the forests, were partly destroyed, partly pushed back into remote corners by the other stronger elements. At present there are only a few thousand of them in Urundi and the same number in Ruanda. Their stature ranges mostly between 1.50 meters and 1.60 meters, but they are
[463] strongly built and make a living as hunters, as blacksmiths and potters in the service of others, or as bodyguards of important people and of the king.

563 Undoubtedly the Batwa are the oldest stratum of population in the entire interlacustrine region. Dispersed in small tribal groups over the country, [7] they lack any kind of social cohesion; nor do they seem to have any traditions about their past. The
[141] Urundi Batwa resemble the Batwa in the forests, but in Urundi they apparently have more Bantu blood in their veins. They are, therefore, somewhat taller and not as pure a type as the Batwa of Ruanda. Both in Urundi and Ruanda and in the northeastern Congo region, the Batwa are in the process of disappearing. Regarded as pariahs both by the Batussi and the Bahutu, they are everywhere treated badly but are at the same time thoroughly exploited. They always look profoundly melancholic and are

563 extremely suspicious; I have rarely seen a Mutwa ["mu-" is prefix for singular] laugh. They are an old, tired race of people, approaching extinction in the not too distant future. For this reason it is high time that the remnants of this people be methodically studied by an ethnological expert during an extended stay. This seems to me to be one of the most rewarding tasks to be accomplished in our East Africa which is so rich in ethnological problems.

The agricultural Bahutu, the main population of Urundi, [162] number approximately one and a half million and belong to the so-called basic Bantu of central East Africa, as also do the Wanjamwesi [Nyamwezi]. According to their traditions, they [173] came to Urundi from the east, that is, from the direction of the southern end of Lake Victoria and spread farther and farther west, clearing the forests. They speak almost the same Bantu [197] dialect as the inhabitants of Ruanda and those of Uha. Strangely enough, their conquerers, the Hamitic Batussi, and the tribe they subjugated, the Batwa, also speak only this Bantu dialect, while in the neighboring states to the east and north the entire population speaks Kinjoro ["Ki-" is a prefix indicating language], in certain parts also Kissumbwa. (Regarding the remnants of an older Kirundi dialect, see p. 148 .) On the [144] other hand, in Urundi and Ruanda the Bantu have changed their ethnic and somatic character somewhat under the influence of [177] their Hamitic conquerors. These, the Batussi, have assumed within the few centuries of their conquest the language, dress (barkcloth), and many customs of the Bantu, but in exchange they have given them something of their blood, their type of dwelling (round huts), their big-horn cattle, and their political organization.

Nothing is known of the history of the Bahutu of Urundi and Ruanda in the period before the rule of the Batussi. Only in conjunction with their Batussi conquerors do the Bahutu step into the light of African history. From then on there exists a history of the Barundi, the political community consisting of Batussi nobility, Bahutu people, and Batwa pariahs (see p. 151 [not translated]).

2: Meyer--11 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42
Batussi

3. Physical Characteristics

114 I have not undertaken anthropological measurements of the Barundi since I was completely occupied by my geographical and ethnographical tasks. My medical companion, Dr. R. Houy (unfortunately murdered in the Cameroons in 1913), whose own field was anthropology but who was at the same time very interested in zoology, found such a rich field in collecting and observing the peculiar fauna of this country that he, too, abstained from the time-consuming anthropological measurements. Thus I had to limit myself to the occasional use of the tape measure and the color scale, and for the rest I can only report general somatic observations.

[8] The most impressive of the Barundi people are naturally
● 144 the ruling tall Batussi (Plates 11, 12, 14). Aside from their heads which in most cases are smoothly shaven, they physically very much resemble their fellow tribesmen in Ruanda. At first glance their Hamitic origin is apparent. On my earlier travels I had often been among the Somali and Galla, and when I was among the Batussi of Urundi and Ruanda it seemed that I had been transported again into the midst of the former, especially the Galla.
141 In one trait, however, the Batussi have an advantage over the Hamites of northern East Africa: they are, on the average, much taller. The most convenient yardstick I carry with me is provided by my own height, and against this I could easily make approximate measurements of the many hundreds of Batussi whom I met. I did not find any adult smaller than 1.77 meters (measured by a tape), few below 1.80 meters, the majority between 1.80 and 1.90 meters, many (about 10 per cent) between 1.90 and 1.95 meters, some few between 1.95 and 2 meters, and a very small number over 2 meters up to an upper limit of 2.08 meters (measured by tape). In spite of their extraordinary
142 height, their body parts are exactly proportioned in relation to each other; not merely are their legs and arms very long but also their torsos which are often so narrow and extended that one can hardly imagine how the internal organs are distributed inside. The impression of abnormal height is further increased by the

Batussi
Bahutu

142 the other type has a [9] straight or pug nose, a broader nose tip, and a larger, thicker mouth u(Plate 17b). Both types are conspicuously the oval form of the face, the small but pronounced chin, and the complete absence of Negroid prognathism. Yet, 142 frequently, the noble impression of the face is reduced by the 143 fact that the upper front teeth jut out (buck teeth). For this 582 reason the mouth of these individuals mostly remains half open, and one can see the upper four incisors. These crooked teeth, it seems to me, are especially of frequent occurrence among the members of the most distinguished families, both here and in Ruanda; these people are also tallest. Perhaps these two features are special characteristics and result from the long inbreeding of these families, for they marry only among themselves and are severely restricted in their choice (p. 100+ 106), while the common Batussi are allowed a wider choice in selecting a mate, and the lowest, poorest class enters into marriages, although not entirely legitimate ones, with the Bahutu as well.

142 If the hair of the head is left unshaven, it is seen to be curly and woolly like that of the Batussi in Ruanda. One also sees at the temples and above the forehead that it does not grow even but in tufts; this is the most Negroid physical feature of the Batussi who, apart from this, do not look like Negroes at all.

142 The second large population group among the Barundi, 144 the Bahutu, who are ruled by the Batussi nobility, have the well-known Bantu physical type, just like all the inhabitants of the interlacustrine area, that is, Ruanda, Mpororó, Ankole, Karagwe, Kisiba, etc. (Plate 6, 8, 9, 10). The differences between them and the Batussi are immediately visible in their short figures, [141] varying between 1.62 and 1.70 meters, and especially in their shorter legs, their thick-set muscular physique which admittedly often looks frail from undernourishment, and in their genuinely prognathous Negroid skull. Somatically they differ very little from the central Bantu of Unjamwesi and Usukuma, although in some respects they resemble the Forest Bantu of the eastern Congo region who formerly probably extended farther toward the east (see p. 152 [not translated]). Their eastern branches

142 in Urundi might be compared to the Bakiga [Chiga] in Ruanda.
144 The latter are a tough, strongly built, mountain people who have cleared the forests and differ from the remaining Bantu in the same manner as the Forest Bantu who live in the western mountains of Urundi differ from the other Bantu of Urundi (cf. also No. 47a, p. 272).

Very often, however, among the Bantu of the inter-lacustrine region are to be seen finer, narrower faces with noses and mouths less broad and with jaws less strongly pronounced than among the others. This is probably caused by the centuries-old admixture of Bahima [Hima] blood, for the Hamitic rulers of the Bantu do in fact often associate with Bantu women but never, or only very exceptionally, do Bantu men associate with Bahima women (p. /01). These individuals among the Bahutu with an admixture of Batussi blood are for the most part taller
[141] than the ordinary Muhutu. All Bahutu are rather dolichocephalic. The hair is curly and tufted, but not of the "peppercorn" type.

The difference between these two racial elements is also
142 apparent in their skin color. The large majority of the Bahutu has the color of dark café-au-lait with violet reflections, approximately Number 28 and 29 of Luschan's color scale. For many persons, however, the color of the skin resembles the reddish tinge of the South American highland Indians whom I know well from former travels [10], which may be ascribed to the admixture of Batussi blood in some of them, but among the others to the customary rubdown with red earth and butter. They then come close to Number 32 of the scale, but only as far as color value is concerned, not in the intensity of the shade. The Batussi, on the other hand, are in most cases light chocolate brown, between Number 26 and 28 of the scale or copper brown like many Indian tribes. Many show lighter gradations depending on the effects of the sun, but always with a predominantly reddish tone, never a yellow-brown or a black one. Batussi women (Plate 15, 17a) are supposed to be in all cases lighter than the men -- I have only seen very few -- because they stay within the homesteads most of the time whereas the Bahutu women, who while working in the fields expose themselves to

142 the sun as much as the men, are the same color as the men (Plate 14b, 16b). Small children are always considerably lighter in skin color.

142 The third population group, the Batwa (Plate 7), also have almost the same somatic character in Urundi as their fellow
● 144 tribesmen in Ruanda. The latter are somewhat better known to us through the work of J. Czekanowski. In Ruanda, especially in the forest areas of Bugoje and the Virunga volcanoes, they have preserved much of their original Pygmy character, for they are still able to lead a withdrawn life of hunting in the forests. Even in Ruanda, however, the majority of them already live as agriculturalists and craftsmen (potters, blacksmiths) dispersed in small communities among the Bahutu and have already received from them a strong admixture of Bantu blood, partly from the Forest Bantu of the eastern Congo region and partly from the central Bantu of the interlacustrine region. This has also happened to the majority of the Batwa of Urundi since, after the expansion of the Bantu and the disappearance of the forests, they too have been forced to settle among the Bahutu and into agriculture (see p. 152 [not translated]). However, we still meet many among them in whom we can recognize, either at first glance or on closer inspection, the pygmoid characteristics familiar to us from the more northern, racially pure Pygmies of the primeval forest (Wambutti [Bambuti]) of the Ruwenzori and of the upper Ituri.

141 Primarily their stature and the form of their limbs are striking in the case of the Mutwa, but whereas the racially pure Batwa of the Ituri are only between 1.30 and 1.40 meters tall, only among the hunting Batwa of Bugoje and the Virunga volcanoes are there individuals between 1.40 and 1.55 meters tall. On the other hand, among those engaged in agriculture among the Bahutu, there are few less than 1.60 meters tall, and many are taller. Without exception the women are shorter than the men. Czekanowski lists an average size of 1.53 meters for the Batwa men of Muhawura and for the women of Muhawura, 1.40 meters; for the Batwa men of the agricultural tribes, however, 1,61 meters, and for the women, 1.54 meters.

[14] The latter measurements are in general applicable to the Batwa of Urundi also. All of them have relatively short trunk and
142 limbs. The legs, however, are short in relation to the upper part of the body, but all limbs are well-proportioned and very muscular. The hands and especially the feet are relatively broad and clumsy; the fingers and toes are very short in relation to the back of the hand and the foot. The heel juts out so far in the back that, seen from the side, the lower leg appears to be placed more toward the middle of the foot.

[14] Upon a short neck is set a head which in most cases is fairly round and decidedly brachycephalic, with a short face and broad cheek bones. However, dolichocephalic individuals are not exactly rare. The frontal bone and the arch of the brows usually extend noticeably beyond the face. [11] The nose almost always is indented at the root which causes the forehead to jut out even more; the nose is flat and broad and has a broad, turned-up tip so that one looks into the nostrils. The mouth is of medium size, but the lips are, in most cases, rather thin, and the upper lip often is scarcely arched. The chin is small and somewhat receding. The ears usually have a very small lobe or none at all. The hair is curly, matted, and, whenever closely cropped, stands up in small "peppercorn" tufts, as among the Bushmen of South Africa. Old people have in many cases a very morose or unhappy facial expression due to three or four peculiar wrinkled furrows that run across the forehead, and one or two thick skin folds stretch from each corner of the nose across to the corners of the mouth. They often look almost like swollen scars (see Plate 7).

The skin color of the Batwa is darker than that of the Bahutu, often with a violet tinge even when the skin has been washed clean. In the colored picture in the travelogue of Duke Adolf Friedrich of Mecklenburg, in which a Mutussi, a Muhutu, and a Mutwa are standing side by side, the color of the Muhutu is most faithfully rendered while the Mutussi is too red and the Mutwa too brown.

144 Czekanowski conbines the results of his measurements and his comparisons of the Batwa with the pure Pygmies of the

144 more northerly regions and with the Forest Bantu and Interlacustrine Bantu and comes to the following conclusions: the Batwa are not a homogeneous group, but consist of elements taken from the Pygmies, the Bantu of the primeval forest and, to a lesser degree, the Interlacustrine Bantu also; among the Batwa of the volcanic region the Pygmy type predominates; among those of central Ruanda, the Interlacustrine Bantu type. This latter fact, according to my observations, is also true of Urundi. A surprising fact about the Batwa and one which was demonstrated by Czekanowski is that they show traces of a dolichocephalic Bushman-like element. This trait in conjunction with slight stature has turned up frequently in the works of other observers of East Africa and attracted Czekanowski's attention, especially in the area of Kilimanjaro. Originally the Batwa were "dwarfs," but their body type gradually changed through the admixture of Bantu blood. The farther north we meet Batwa, toward the racially pure Pygmies of the Ituri, the stronger are their pygmoid characteristics; most strongly so among the Batwa of Idschwi Island of Lake Kivu where they are well sheltered from outside influences (No. 31a, 101-109).

[162] Since according to official data the Batwa are only one per cent and the Batussi only about three per cent of the total population of Urundi, the numerical predominance of the Bahutu-Bantu is so great that they entirely determine the overall impression one gets of the Barundi people. Moreover, the Bahutu and also the relatively few Batussi who rule them are somatically, mentally, and culturally so homogeneous throughout Urundi that deviations from the average type are met with only rarely in this great country, excepting those of mixed Bahima blood mentioned above. Of course the Barundi people owe this homogeneity above all to their strict centuries-old seclusion from the outside world. The border areas farthest west on Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River might have worked considerable changes on the Barundi tribes living there, for they do have a much warmer lowland climate, and the great lake might have caused adaptive changes in the way of life of the inhabitants. Moreover, the neighboring Congo tribes are a quite different sort of people. However, even here, no such

144 changes occurred; the ethnic character of the Barundi changes only slightly, in spite of the fact also that political connections with the Mountain Barundi had become much less close.

691 [12] In 1901 Richard Kandt wrote as follows of the Barundi of the Tanganyika lowlands.

"Politically the area between the eastern periphery of the Central African graben and the Ruzizi is divided into from ten to twelve rather small sultanates, most of which probably cover approximately 150 to 200 square kilometers. They are nominally not independent; their rulers, who all belong to the Semitic Watussi of the Galla territories south of Abyssinia, were originally vassals of the king of Urundi, or the 'Muesi' as he is called by title. But although the majority of the inhabitants gives the impression of being almost pure Warundi, the high crest of the peripheral mountains and the broad desolate primeval forest were too convenient a bulwark not to arouse the desire of independence in the population which is hardly affected by grandiose ideas of national unity, the more so since the mother country is also split up into a large number of mutually warring chiefdoms which are only loosely bound to the central power. The only existing remnant of cohesion seems to be the fact that the Muesi has some kind of religious importance which makes his chief think it advisable not to sever all connections with him.

182 If we consider how infinitely different the entire living conditions of the Lake Warundi dwelling near Tanganyika are from those of the Mountain Warundi and how far back the various influences go which affect the Lake Warundi (namely, the presence of the Wasuaheli [Swahili], the Arabs, and the various western tribes following in their footsteps), we are surprised at how stubbornly they have nevertheless remained true in the matter of their external appearance, language, and customs to the peculiarities of their unusually isolated native country. The same is true of the Warundi living in the low valley of the Ruzizi, except that for them the temptation to abandon the customs of their forefathers was considerably smaller, and the farther north they lived, the smaller it became." (No. 22, pp. 339-340.)

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

been brought only during the past thirty years. The present Ruanda culture has lost the coherence that existed in pre-European days. Those who have become more closely associated with alien activity, and have therefore felt its influence more constantly, now share a culture made up in part of their ancestral way of life and in part of their interpretation of the Belgian variety of Western culture as it operates in a colonial situation. Even those who have not been brought into direct contact with whites feel that their old patterns of life are losing their validity. But that more or less hidden part of the old culture, consisting of basic assumptions on the relationships of man with the world and with other men, has suffered the least change. To be sure, the legends of the descent of the first Batutsi meet with more scepticism than in the past, but the fundamental beliefs that this story reflects are still profoundly embedded in the Ruanda ethos. Even when new institutions, based on assumptions conflicting with the earlier ones, are imposed under external pressure and adopted, the principles shaping the older institutions will subsist and, if participation in the new institutions is unchecked, these will be completely reinterpreted in accordance with the former premises. Some manifestations of the continuing existence of the ancient assumptions in the contemporary context will be considered here, but we shall be mainly concerned with the Ruanda world-view as it was at the beginning of this century.[1]

Ruanda is a highland country in East Africa lying in the region delimited by lakes Kivu, Victoria, and Tanganyika. Its area is 24,500 square kilometres; its population amounts to almost 2 million inhabitants, the highest density in Africa south of the Sahara. Three socio-'racial' castes are to be

[1] Much of the material used in this study was collected by the author during two years' work (1950–1) in Ruanda as a social anthropologist of the *Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale* (I.R.S.A.C.). The author was very much helped in his field research by Dr. E. Pinoulst and Dr. G. De Clercq during their six-month course of training under his direction. Extensive and valuable information has been found in the published literature on Ruanda, especially studies by Father A. Arnoux, Abbé L. de Lacger, Abbé Alexis Kagame, the late Father A. Pagès, Mr. G. Sandrart, Father Schumacher, and Mr. J. Vanhove. The author is also grateful to the Abbé Kagame for having placed at his disposal some of his manuscripts. In formulating the conceptual and theoretical scheme used in this paper, the author has relied considerably on the teaching and works of Professor Clyde Kluckhohn of Harvard University. He is immensely indebted for his fundamental training in anthropology to the teaching staff of London University and particularly to Professor Daryll Forde. Mr. Lawrence Oschinsky has kindly corrected the manuscript. A short bibliography is given at the end, but it has not been felt necessary to document this study at every point, nor indeed was this possible, since it was written in the field with the use of a very restricted library.

This is an essay in the etymological meaning of the word. If the underlying configurations of a culture constitute its most important part, since they provide a key to the interrelatedness of apparently unconnected phenomena and to the meaning of apparently incomprehensible behaviour, they are also the most elusive realities. They evade direct observation and, often, direct interrogation. The anthropologist, therefore, must be sure that his inferences are logically acceptable not only to his own mind but also to the minds of the participants in the culture he studies. All this requires a thorough knowledge of the overt aspects of a culture and a long familiarity with them. The author is painfully aware that he has not gone very deeply into the ethos of Ruanda. This is only an attempt at a synthesis of the results so far obtained in researches which are still proceeding.

[141] The average stature of the Batwa, or Negrillos, does not ex-
142 ceed 1.59 meters. Short and stocky, rather poorly proportioned, they tend to have ungraceful bodies. They are hairy; their chest especially presents a large surface of hair. Prognathism is more pronounced among them than among the Bahutu. They are also less sensitive to
147 cold and fatigue, at least those who live in the woods, for they are used to privation and to the inclemency of the seasons.

[165] Their vigor and longevity are now proverbial. This is why the
551 Batutsi and Bahutu like to give their children Batwa names, such as Mutwa, Gatwa, /30/ Lwamukore, Sekarahenyi, etc., as if they could infuse the physical traits of that race into them along with the
757 names (1). Any bone, so long as it has belonged to a Negrillo, is
826

1. In the same line of thought and for similar reasons, the Blacks often bear the names of certain animals such as the hyena, lion, dog, etc.

reputed to be a sovereign remedy for an infirmity called makonyora, which is one of the aftermaths of yaws.

[751] Little bones of this sort are worn around the neck as amulets.
789 The Bahutu faith in this kind of grigri goes further. Until recently, they believed all that was needed to improve the yield of a field was to throw a Negrillo's finger into it, hence the word ilemo ("creation," that is, "fertility") given to this sort of object, and the word kulemesha ("to fertilize") referring to the procedure.

563 The way of life, habits, and temperament of the Negrillos in no way resemble those of the other ethnic groups (2). The Batutsi are

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2. Prehistorians and physical anthropologists "have scientifically proved that the dwarfs, or pygmies, who have been found at all times in some parts of Africa, belong to a human race distinct from the Blacks.
142 Not only are they, on the average,

144 The word "Hamite" is, however, also used in a different sense. We speak of a "Hamitic anthropological type." This designation refers to the anthropological element so characteristic of the tribes who have mixed relatively little and who speak Hamitic languages, the Somal [Somali] and Galla, for example. In this sense [123] one may count the Batutsi among the Hamites. The Hamitic anthropological type is more obvious in them than in the Massai to the east and the Bari and Kakwa in the northwest. They are less "Negroized."

173 181 According to their traditions, the Batutsi come from the north, which, however, refers essentially to the Buganda district south of Lake Mohasi, not to the distant lands on the other side of the Victoria-Nile, the Bukedi, traditional homeland of the Babito. This might mean that the Batutsi have been in their present country long enough for the other, older traditions to have faded, leaving only those concerning the founding of the Ruanda state.

Karagwe, however, is also mentioned in these traditions. Perhaps this has something to do with the older migration of the Ruanda Batutsi. Presumably this migration took place along an axis extending from the steppes in the northeast, along the Karagwe border, and across Lake Mohasi to Nduga and Mukinjaga. It is along this axis that one finds the strongest concentration of Batutsi.

131 Dr. Kandt states that the original homeland of the Batutsi is the Mhogo Basin (districts of the upper Nyawarongo). Kissaka also has a large percentage of Batutsi. Baumann (1) mentions

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1. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle [Through the Land of the Masai to the Source of the Nile] (Berlin, 1894), p. 204.

isolated groups of Batutsi in the mountains in the northwestern part of Tanganyika. Only in the Muwissi Mountains, in the southwestern part of Issawi, are there reputedly very few Batutsi. (2)

2. Travel reports of Prof. Hans Meyer

563 in their smaller stature, their squarer build, and their shorter legs.
142 The contrast is strongest in Mulera and Bugoye where the Bahutu gradually show transitions to the Bantu of the Congo forest. In central Ruanda the Bahutu show a not inconsiderable Batutsi influence. Here their features are more regular and more finely chiseled, their bodies not so stocky, and their heads longer. It is probable,
[144] therefore, that the Muhutu owes the characteristics which distinguish him from the Bantu of the Congo forest chiefly to the "Hamitic" influence of the Batutsi. However, we must not lose sight of the possibility of a concurrent Nilotic influence which is so striking among the Massai and Bari.

167 Emigrants from the Congo state have played an important
101 role in the settlement of Mulera and Bugoye. Dr. Kandt (1) uses

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 290.

the name Bakiga (Wakiga) for the immigrants. He translates it as "inhabitant of Pori." My inquiry revealed that "Bakiga" is the general term for the inhabitants of mountains, in contrast to "Banyamuyaga," the inhabitants of plains. On his surveyor's
103 sketch of the map of Mpororo, Lieutenant Schwarz calls the country southwest of Buischingato (Luizigatu) "Rukiga." This was formerly called Ndorwa, since it is mountainous. The region southwest of Nyundo is also called Rukiga. Father P. Barthelèmy, who knows the country and is versed in the language, believes that the name of the Rugege Forest in the southeastern part of Kivu is derived from Rukiga.

167 The immigrants from the Congo are closely related to the
101 Banyaruanda. On the Belgian map (2) the inhabitants of the

[113] 2. Carte de l'État Indépendant du Congo [Map of the Independent Congo State]. Scale 1:100,000. Lith. Justus Perthes, Gotha, 1907.

western edge of the graben [Rift Valley] are designated simply as

167 Barundi [Rundi]. Bashi or Bahunde are the terms the Bagoye use
101 in referring to the people from Bunyabungu, Itambi, Buyungu,
Kishari, Butundwe, and even Bgisha, with whom they can easily
[194] make themselves understood. The first designation supposedly
alludes to the sibilants which are so prominent in their dialect.
In their culture the Bashi also show many similarities with the
Congo Bantu. Thus, the anthropological and cultural transition
to the Forest Bantu takes place within the Kirundi language area.
The similarity of the Bahutu who were not influenced by the Batutsi
to the Forest Bantu argues in favor of the view that the population
of Ruanda is the result of a metamorphosis caused by contact with
the Batutsi.

563 [130] Batwa. The Batwa comprise the third element in the
944 population of Ruanda. They stand out because of their relatively
small stature. The contrast between them and the very tall Batutsi
is so striking that the altogether erroneous identification of Batwa
with Pygmies has gained credence even among such an outstanding
expert on the country as Dr. Kandt. (1) I have taken a great many

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 303.

measurements, and I am forced to conclude that this assumption is
not valid. I agree with Lieutenant Von Parisch (2) who found that

[113]

2. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903 [Two Journeys Through Ruanda, 1902 to 1903]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 76.

the Batwa were only slightly shorter than the Bahutu.
Prof. Hans Meyer (3) made the same observation. He says:

3. Travel Reports of Prof. Hans Meyer on German East Africa. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1911, p. 349.

563 "The Batwa at Musinga's court and in the Issawi region, as well
144 as those in northwestern Urundi, are not very different from the Wahutu, and there is doubtless considerable blood relationship."
Baumann (4) goes still farther and maintains that the Batwa

4. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle (Berlin, 1894), p. 215.

are no smaller than the Barundi.

The latter opinion is also erroneous. Anthropological analysis (5) proved that the Batwa do have a Pygmy element as

[113]

5. Czekanowski, J., "Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen der zentral-afrikanischen Pygmäen [Aspects of Kinship of the Pygmies of Central Africa]," Korrespondenz-Blatt der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1910, pp. 101-109.

one of their components. Although other, subsequent mixtures have lessened the importance of this element, nevertheless it accounts for many characteristic features of the Batwa.

The Batwa are strikingly similar to the Forest Bantu and stand midway between the latter and the Bahutu. This conclusion, unexpected at first glance, is simply explained if we assume that the more isolated Batwa were less open to outside influences and that anthropologically they are relicts of an older order in Ruanda. If we assume that formerly the population of Ruanda was more closely related to the Forest Bantu, then the Batwa, from whom we may learn about former conditions, must also be similar to the Forest Bantu. This is, in fact, the case. Apart from their anthropologi-
563 cal relationship, the Batwa are also said to resemble the Forest
266 Bantu in a very characteristic custom. They are cannibals, at least in northwestern Ruanda among the western group of volcanoes. Nonconflicting rumors about this custom have been reported by both Count Von Götzen (6) and Von Parisch (7).

[113]

6. Götzen, G.A., Count Von, Durch